A Watch-worde for Warre.

Not ſo new as neceſſary:

Publiſhed by reaſon of the diſperced rumors amongſt vs, and the ſuſpected comming of the *Spanyard* againſt vs.

Wherein we may learne how to prepare our ſelues to repell the Enemie, and to behaue our ſelues all the tyme of that trouble.

Compendious for the memorie, comfortable for the matter, profitable for the tyme.

Ezekiell, 21, 12.
The terrors of the ſword ſhall be vppon my people: ſmyte therefore vpon thy thigh.

¶ Printed by *Iohn Legat*, Printer to the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge.
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E ternall, good, and gracious God, ſtretch forth thy ſauing hand,
L et not our ſinnes prouoke thy wrath, but looke vpon this Land,
I n thee we doe repoſe our truſt, as one that neuer faile,
S ubuert both far and fawning foes, they neuer may preuaile:
A las what are we of our ſelues, and want thee on our ſide,
B ut euen as chaffe againſt the winde, not able to abide.
E xtend therefore thy heauenly helpe, and though we were but ten,
T hey ſhall repell tenne thouſand foes, if thou dooſt ſay Amen.
H ee that doth rule the harts of all, theyr bodies can ſubiect,
A n arme of flesh is of no force where he doth not direct.

R emember Lord our ſoueraigne Prince, thine owne anneinted deere,
E xpell her foes, increaſe her friends, no hurt may happen heere:
G iue to her ſubiects faithfull harts, to loue her as they ought,
I nfold all ſecrete trecheries, and bring them vnto nought,
N owe for thy mercies ſake good Lord, vnto our ſute incline,
A nd ſo direct her highnes dayes, shee may at laſt be thine.

To the right Worshipfull, the Mayor of the borrough of *Kings Lynne*, and to his Associats or Bretheren the Aldermen of the same Towne,

C: G: wisheth much health with prosperitie, and all happines with eternitie.

Plato that diuine Philosopher (right Worshipfull) dyd cast out of the common-wealth of wise-men which he made, *Homer* and *Hesiode* two Poets, because he perceyued some vanitie in theyr Poems. *Ouid* neuer more iustlie deserued exilement, then for hys lasciuious verse, because they incline to the nourishment of vyce.

If we punish such by penall lawes, which vse false waights and measures, those are not to be permitted, vvhich diuulgate corrupt dyscourses: for these are meanes to vitiat the minde, the other can but defraud vs of money.

That vvhich is infectious to publish, must needes be infamous to patronize; it is a credit to giue countenance to a good worke; for that cause I haue made choyse of such a matter, as shall neyther offend your W. for vanitie in the inuention, or for indignitie in the protection.

The Subiect handled is vvarre, the rumor of it is fearefull, and therefore the discourse of it may be fruitfull; vvhich hauing finished, I haue presented to your W. not to that ende many ayme at, in giuing whereof *Gratian* speaketh, *Do vt des vel do vt facias. Decret caus. 14.* To giue to haue giuen agayne, but as a gyft proceeding of mere good-will; and I am the rather induced heerevnto, for these causes.

First in respect of promise; the Ciuilians say, *Vir iustus est vota et promissa præstare*, I promised long since to gratifie your W. with some grauer attempt. The Philosopher sayth, that the bird of Egypt being olde, purgeth all the humors of her bodie, by eating spyces of Arabia, and sendeth forth of her mouth a sweete breath; so I hauing expelled the vanities of youth, by the experience of more yeares, may haue a more rype and seasoned iudgment: for as *Euripides* sayth, the second actions are more singuler; vve see that

Artificers be more excellent, in theyr ſecond workes, then much more are the ſtudies of the minde, alwayes amended by future meditation. as *Cicero* ſayth, *Poſteriores cogitationes ſapientiores eſſe ſolent*, the latter cogitations are wont to be wiſer.

Secondly, in regard of your kindneſſe; vvhich not onely deſerueth to be cannonized for a vertue by the Schoolemen, *T. Aqui. Art. 1*, but to be ſpoken of to the reproch of many ingratefull perſons in thys age: for there be ſome that reſpect not a gyft vvhen it is giuen; others, that vvill ſooner crucifie then gratifie a well-willer; but there is in your W. both a ciuill kind of curteſie to accept, and alſo, more then a common courſe of kindneſſe to requite; now it is true that *Tully* ſayth, *Omnes immemorem beneficii oderunt*, all men hate hym who is not mindfull of a benefite, and therefore if Heathen men vvould puniſh vnthankfull perſons, with ſeruitude, as *Claudius Cæſar* did: *Sueton, cap. 25*, and vvith death, as the Perſians dyd, *Melanct. lib. 1*, vvhat were I worthie to haue, if I ſhould not remember your kindnes and ſome-way remunerate againe.

Theſe things conſidered (hauing neyther ſtore of Indian treaſure to beſtowe, or coſtlie Iuels of Egypt to offer) I could doe no leſſe then dedicate my labours to your W. *Vltra poſſe non eſt eſſe*, there is no defect in affection but in action; but Kings in former tymes would not refuſe gyfts of good-will, though they brought but a handfull of vvater; Chriſt him ſelfe dyd accept the widowes offer, though ſhe gaue but a myte, and therefore I hope you will not reiect my ſimple preſent, though it be but a peece of paper. So preſuming of your accuſtomed kindneſſe, I commit the protection heereof to your W. and the preſeruation of your ſelues, to the Almightie, vvho make you gloryous Cittizens in heauen, as he hath made you graue Senators vpon earth.

Your Worſhips alwayes in the Lord,

C. G.

To the Reader.

THE mutabilitie of reports had almoſt diſmaide mee in proceeding: for one while there runne nothing but rumors of vvarre, an otherwhile there paſſe manie ſpeeches of peace; the ſame mouth that ſaith at one time, the Spanyard will come, another time affirmeth, we neede not expect his comming. There be many that wiſh warrs becauſe they cannot thriue with peace, and others that ſpeak of peace, becauſe they loue not to heare of war; but (good Reader) as there is no ſmoke without fire, ſo there ariſeth no rumor without ſome original, for rumors are commonly fore-runners of warre. VVhen tydings of vvarre were voyced in Iuda, the enemies tarried not long after; and therefore the ſpeeches which are giuen out of the Spanyard, may put vs in expectation of his comming; he which hath made ſo great preparation for warre, may be ſuſpected to weight oportunitie to effect his will.

There were many falſe Prophets amongſt the Iewes, which perſwaded them of peace for ſome lewd pretence, when they knew the Aſſyrians were ready to aſſault them, Ierem, 6, 14. I pray GOD there be not ſome falſe-harted ſubiects amongſt vs, that giue out reports of peace for ſom ill purpoſe, when they are perſwaded the Spanyard is approching.

Howſoeuer it be, *dubia timenda*, things doubtful are to be dreadfull; It is better to liue in feare then ſecurity: for feare maketh vs to flie to God, as *Iehoshaphat* did when he feared the Moabites to come vpon him, 2, Chro, 20, 3, but ſecuritie maketh vs forget God, as *Dauid* did when hee remained ſecure in Ieruſalem. 2, Sam, 11. The feare of war is to be doubted euen in the fruition of peace, for as the wiſe-man ſayth, There is a time of warre aſwell as a time

of peace, Eccles, 3, 8. Such euer taſt the leſſe troubles in the tempeſt of warre, which ſayle with a martiall foreſight in the calme of peace.

But admit the Spanyarde hath diſperced ſome part of his Nauie, or hath ſome other croſſe occaſions to hinder his cōming hether this yere, yet let vs perſwade our ſelues, that as God made the Amorites and others to be as pricks and thornes to the Iſraelits, Ioſua, 23, 13, ſo he hath made the Spaniard to be as a prick & thorne to Engliſhmen, inſomuch as we ſhall neuer bee ſo aſſured of peace, but wee may alwaies liue in ſuſpition of warre: and therefore thys treatiſe of warre cannot be friuolous.

I remember *Cicero* ſayth, it is one poynt of policie in peace to prepare for vvarre; now if outwarde furniture to defend the body, is expedient to be in preparation, though there be no vvarre; the inwarde Armour to aſiſt the ſoule, cannot be impertinent though there be peace.

Theſe and ſome other reſpects haue mooued me to ſet forth this Treatiſe, conſidering what *Seneca* ſaith, *Non vixit qui nemini viuit*, he liueth not, that liueth to none but himſelfe; therefore I thought it to bee a ſinne by concealing, which might turne to a more profit by publiſhing.

Thus being loth to put any in feare of vvarre, although it be good policie to ſuſpect it, or in hope of peace when the Enemie is ſo buſie about warlike preparation, I leaue the cenſuring hereof, to ſuch as know beſt vnder God, and the ſucceſſe of both to him that ſeeth more then any man, which is the almightie *Iehouah*, whom *Auguſtine* ſayth to be *Totus oculus*, all Eye, becauſe hee beſt ſeeth all things, whoſe purpoſe will take place whatſoeuer we heare, eyther by flying reports, or by fabulous prophecies.

C. G.

VVarre.

THE Latine word *Bellum*, is so called (saith *Cicero*) of *Bellua*, cruell, beast-like or sauage; some suppose it commeth of *Bellona*, whom the Poets fayned to be the Goddesse of VVarre, whose felicity was in the effusion of bloode. The Etymologie of the worde dooth not much differ from the nature of the subiect.

There be two kinds of warre, { 1. *Bellum internum.* 2. *Bellum externum.*

1. *Bellum internum*, inward warre, is that we commonly call the spirituall warre, therefore this life is very fitlie by one of the Fathers called a warfare. *August. 45. Ser. de tem.* For the Spirit hath many egregious enemies, which continually combate and encounter with it.

The flesh is called *Caro a corrupto*, because it dooth corrupt, or as the Schooleman saith, it is called *Caro quia corruit*, because it doth ouerthrow. This is one enemie that impugneth against the Spirite; From whence are warres (saith the Apostle) euen of your lustes that fight in your members: *Iam. 4.* Heereupon *Paule* wel alludeth when he saith, *Though we walke in the flesh, we doe not warre after it. 2. Cor. 10. 3.*

The world, as one saith wel, is called *Mundus ab immundo*, for it shroudeth much filthines vnder a faire shew, ther-

fore *Auſten* ſayd not without cauſe, *Si te delectat hic mundus, ſemper vis eſſe immundus:* if we take pleaſure in it, wee ſhal alwaies be impure. This world is another enemy that warreth againſt the ſpirite. As warre commonly preceedeth before victory, ſo the Apoſtle approueth the worlde after a ſort, to warre, by ſhewing the meanes howe to get the victorie, in theſe words, *This is our victory that ouercommeth the world, euen our fayth. 2. Iohn. 5.*

The deuil, he is called *Dlabolus, quia eſt aduerſus*, becauſe he is againſt vs, and therefore *Peter* calleth him *aduerſarie, 1. Pet, 5, 8.* Thys deuill is another enemie that warreth againſt the Spirit, for it is written of him, that hee beeing wroth with the VVoman, went and made warre with the remnant of her ſeede. *Apoc, 12, 17.* S. *Gregory* ſaith, that the manifold warres of our fore-fathers, are ſhadowes of thoſe warres we muſt haue with the deuill. *Greg: 23, queſt. capit. 1. niſi bellum.*

This VVarre is dangerous in two reſpects, 1. of the number, 2. of the nature, of the enimies

1. Of the Number: for there are three to one. The Phyloſopher ſayth, *Ne Hercules contra duos*, hee muſt be a ſtrong man that is able to reſiſt two, therefore three to one is greater odds. VVhē *Ioſua* ſent but three thouſand men againſt the Citty of *Ai*, the Cittizens were able to ſhift with them. *Ioſua, 7, 4*, but when he ſent thirtie thouſande ſtrong men againſt it, thē the Cittie was ſoone ſacked. *Ioſu. 8, 3.* If the bodie be not able to withſtande outward violence where there is inequalitie of enemies, howe ſhould the Spirit, where there is ſuch aduantage of the inwarde aduerſaries?

2 Of the Nature: for they practiſe all pollicies to preuaile with the ſpirit: inſomuch as many times they make a batterie and breach in the very beſt, as in *Dauid*, *Peter*, & diuers other. This ſhort period of the melli-fluous father, doth pretely deſcribe the nature of theſe enemies, *Mundus clamat decipiam*, *Caro inficiam*, *diabolus interficiam*, *Chriſtus dicit reficiam*: *quem ſequereris*? the worlde crieth I will deceiue, the fleſh cryeth I wil infect, the deuill cryeth I will kill, but Chriſt ſaith I wil refreſh, which of theſe wilt thou followe? But as there be many mighty and vndermining enimies againſt the Spirit, ſo God hath not left it deſtitute of aſsiſtance to animate it.

There is no King will ſend foorth his ſubiects without weapons in outward warres: euen ſo the king of al kings, hath dealt by the Spirit in this inward warfare; for he hath not left it naked and open to the enemies, but hath gyuen it Armour for the defence, as the Breſt-plate of righteouſnes, the Shielde of fayth, the Helmet of ſaluation, the Sword of the Spirit.&c. *Ephe*,*6*.

This ſpirituall Armour is of greater force to ſubdue the inward enemies, then politique weapons are to repell the outward aduerſaries: therfore *Paule* ſaith, the weapons of our warfare are not carnall but mightie through God to caſt downe holds. *2*,*Cor*, *10*, *4*.

In other warres, the Souldiers neuer goe to fight without a Captaine to conduct them, euen ſo hath God delt by the Spirit, it hath Chriſt to be the Captaine, and therefore wee are called Souldiers, becauſe wee fight vnder his banner. Now if *Saule* had good ſucceſſe in his battels, becauſe *Dauid* being a godly Generall directed his bands, the Spirite ſhall ſpeed well in this conflict, becauſe Chriſt is the Captaine, who is farre better then *Dauid*.

Humaine Captaynes will ſometime recoyle and ſhrinke

from their Souldiers in exteamities, this heauenly Captaine will persist with his Souldiers in all perills: for (as one of the ancient writers sayth) he will ouer-looke vs fighting, succour vs fainting, and crowne vs ouercomming.

This spirituall VVarre { Fearefull. / of all other warres is most { Famous.

It is most fearefull in many respects, for first, if we faint in this fight, it is commonly the cause of all other warres, for outward warres are sent to intimate Gods indignation for our securitie, to the end we might be excited and fortified in this spirituall fight. God would neuer sende outward enemies to afflict the bodie, but that hee perceiues the inward enemies doe preuaile with the Spirit.

2 In other warres, though wee bee taken captiues, yet we may be ransommed for money, but if wee be subdued by the spirituall enemies, there is no hope of raunsome, as the Psalmist sayth. *Hee cannot giue his raunsome to God, Psal, 49, 7.*

3 In other warres, we can but loose our goods, lyms, or (at the vttermost) our lyues, though the enemies work their wills on vs: but in this spirituall battell we loose both bodies & soules if the enemies get the vpper hand. Therefore S. *Ierom* saith wel, *Septies stultior est, ego qui nudo corpore poneret se in medio hostium armatorum:* that such an one is seauen times more foolish, or in worse plight, then hee which doth hazarde his naked body in the midst of an armed host.

It is most famous if the Spirite preuaileth: for in other warres, such as gette the conquest, may perhaps purchase some momentanie riches or renowne amongst men: but in this inward warre, if we be victorious, we shall obtaine a Crowne, not of gold, but of glory, not earthly, but eternall.

nall. *Reuel. 5.*

Men in outward battels, will venture farre to gette the victory, in regard of peace or praiſe, then howe couragious ought wee to be in this ſpirituall combat, to gette the conqueſt, that we may attaine the celeſtiall paradiſe, where the pleaſures are inexplicable, *1, Cor, 2, 9*: and indeterminable, *Pſalm, 16, 11.* Theſe reaſons were ſufficient to enforce vs to be vigilant and valiant in this inward warre.

2 *Bellum externum*, outward war is of three ſorts { 1 Innaturale. 2 Ciuile. 3 Commune.

1 *Bellum innaturale*, vnnaturall warre, is ſuch as carrieth vvith it a kinde of abhorrencie in nature,

VVhereof there be two ſorts, { VVarre of ignorance. VVar of knowledge.

VVarre of ignorance, is that which the Heathens vſed when they did ſacrifice theyr children to the fire, or ſley them to ſome cerimoniall end. Therefore the VViſeman ſayth, they liued in *Immagno inſcitiæ bello*, great warres of ignorance, VViſdom, 14, 21.

Such was the vvarre which *Paule* made in perſecuting the Saints, which hee confeſſeth himſelfe he did of ignoraunce.

VVarre of knowledge, was the warre of ſome of the people of Ieruſalem, of whom it is ſaide, that they filled that place with the blood of innocents. Ierem, 19.

Such was alſo the vvarre of bloody *Boner* in Queene *Maries* dayes, in the deſtruction of ſo many Martyrs.

2 The Heathen men had no illumination but by the light

of nature, and therefore their ignorance is the more to be excuſed. *Acts 17, 30.* But as for thoſe of *Ieruſalem*, and that bloodie *Bonner*, their warres cannot be iuſtlie ſayd to be of ignorance: for the Prophets reproued the one often times for the fact, and the Martirs alledged Scriptures to the other, alwayes to diſproue his proceedings.

2 *Bellum ciuile*, ciuill warre is that vvhich ariſeth within a Nation it ſelfe.

Thys warre is eyther { Of Deuiſion / Of Rebellion.

Of Diuiſion, when a land is deuided within it ſelfe, as when two ſtriue for gouernment, ſuch diuiſion was in the land of *Iuda*, betweene *Reboboam* and *Ieroboam*, as you may reade in the 1. Kings 12, and the like diuiſion is, or was in *Fraunce* betweene the lawfull King and *Duke de Mayne*.

Of Rebellion, when ſubiects doe repugne or rebell againſt their King, as we reade of *Abſalom*, how he rebelled againſt King *Dauid* to dirept the diademe from him, and here-vnto may be added theſe (not much different in nature but in name) which we call, Conſpiracy, Inſurrection, Commotion, Mutinie, &c. VVhereof we haue examples. VVe reade of *Zimri* how he conſpired againſt King *Elah*, 1. King 16. we may ſpeake more properly of all theſe practiſes within this land, of the ſiniſter and ſundrie conſpiracies againſt the perſon of our Prince, of the vnnaturall inſurrection in the North, of the vnkind commotion of *Ket* and his confederates, but as their actions be odious, ſo their endes were ignominious.

3. *Bellum commune*, common VVarre, ſome call it Nationall, the warre of Countries, of this warre our Sauiour Chriſt

Chriſt ſpeaketh when hee ſaith, Nation ſhall riſe agaynſt Nation, and Realme againſt Realme, Math. 24. 7. Of this warre becauſe occaſion and opportunitie is offered (by reaſon the Spanyard is ſuſpected to riſe againſt England) I will intreat of for our comfort.

Thys kinde of VVarre bringeth a feare vvithall two vvayes. { 1. *Auditione.* 2. *Actione.*

1 The very rumor or heare-ſay of this warre is dreadfull. *Ioſephus* reporteth that when it was voyced that *Typhon* had gathered a great Hoſt to come into the lande of *Iuda*, the people were in great trembling and feare, *Antiq. 13. cap.* VVhen the children of Iſrael heard that the *Philiſtims* would come againſt them, the text ſaith they were afraid, 1. *Sam. 7. 7.* VVhen tydings was brought to *Iehoshaphat* how the *Amonites* intended to battell againſt him, the Scripture ſaith that *Iehoshaphat* feared, *2. Chro. 20.* VVe ſee by experience in our ſelues, that when it is giuen out, the Spanyard prepareth to come againſt vs, how many of vs be ſmitten with a kind of feare, when we do but heare of it.

2 If the rumour and report of warre bee ſo fearefull, what is the very action it ſelfe. I remember a pritty inſtance to this purpoſe, when *Dauid* was to incounter with his enemies, ſome of his men ſayd vnto him: *See wee be afrayde heere in Iuda, how much more if we come to Kelah againſt the hoſt of the Philiſtims. 1, Sam. 23, 3.* Let vs applie this to our ſelues, if we be afrayd to heare of warres at home in our houſes, how fearefull would we be if we came in the face of the enemie? *Saule* was a notable and worthy warrior: for he had ſore warres all his dayes, *2, Sam. 3, 1.* Yet is it written of him, that when he ſavve the hoſt of the *Philiſtims*, he was afrayd and his heart was ſore aſtonied, *1, Sam.*

28, 5. Then no maruaile though England (hauing dwelt vvithout feare vnder our gracious Queene, as Iſrael did vnder *Salomon*, *1, Kings 4, 25*) ſhould be ſomewhat feare-full of vvarres, becauſe it hath beene accuſtomed to peace, when *Saul* was ſo fearefull that was neuer without warre.

Many men are feared for many reſpects, ſome man is feared for his godlineſſe as *Dauid* was, an other is feared for his vviſedome as *Salomon* was, but the Spanyard he is fea-red for his crueltie as *Pharaoh* was, and therefore who fea-reth not to be afflicted of ſuch as haue no feare of God?

VVee muſt conſider there is a two-fold feare, { 1 *Timor laudabilis*. 2 *Timor deteſtabilis*.

1 *Timor laudabilis*, It is a laudable feare, when men by that meanes are exſcited to looke vnto the Lord, this feare was in *Iehoshaphat* a godly King, it is ſayd that hee feared and ſet him ſelfe to ſeeke the Lord, 2, *Chro*. 20, 3. Fleſh and blood is fraile, and therefore ſoone affrighted, but happie are thoſe which in their feare, can follow ſo good a courſe as this King did.

There be others that are terrified by remembrance of theyr miſdeeds, and feare that God will afflict them, and ſo by this meanes they are mooued to amendement; Thys feare is laudable. VVhen iudgements were pronounced, and impendant vppon Sion, it is ſayde the Sinners were a-fraid, and a feare came vpon the hypocrits: Eſay, 33, 14, & therefore, if thys feare vpon vs, ariſe by reaſon of our ſins, and for feare of Gods wrath wee depart from them, wee neede not feare the Spaniard, though he put vs in feare of vvarre.

2 *Timor deteſtabilis*, deteſtable feare proceedeth two wayes, { Of Cowardice, Of Deſpayre.

Of

Of Cowardice, ſome are afrayd of their owne ſhadow, as *Gaal* was, who tooke the ſhadow of the Mountains for men: Iudg, 9, 36. Now, as a coward can doe little good in the vvarres with his weapon, ſo he may do much hurte with his words by diſcouraging others: and therfore this martiall exhortation was made in Deut, 20, 8, VVhoſoeuer is afrayd and faynt-harted, let him goe and returne vnto his houſe, leaſt his bretherens hart faynte like his hart. There be many ſuch faint-harted men, which doth argue no humanitie but effemenacie. VVhen open proclamation was made in the warres of *Gedeon* that ſuch ſhould returne home which were timerous or fearfull, of 32. thouſande, there departed 22. thouſand men away, Iudg, 7, 3. If the Spaniards come againſt vs, let vs not be fearefull, conſidering our cauſe is ſo good, that wee ought to ſhewe our ſelues couragious, and not covvards.

3 Of Deſpayre; If God caſteth feare vpon a man, and in his feare he diſpaire of Gods protection, this is to bee taken for a great puniſhment, becauſe it is inflicted vpon the wicked, as appeareth in Deut, 28, 66, Thy life ſhall hange before thee, and thou ſhalt feare both night and day. And in Leuit, 26, 36, I will ſend a faintnes into their harts. It was the iudgement God impoſed vpon the impious Babilonians, that theyr hands ſhall be weakened, and theyr harts melt, and they ſhal be afrayde: anguiſh and ſorrovve ſhal take them, Eſay, 13, 8, and therefore, howſoeuer it fall out, God defende vs from this feare, yea though wee ſhould take a little foyle of the enemie, as the Iſraelits dyd of the men of *Ai*, farre be it from vs we ſhould be ſo fearfull that our harts ſhoulde melt away like water, as theyrs did, Ioſua 7, 5, in ſeioyning fayth from feare.

VVe muſt conſider for our benefite generally three things,
1 VVhat VVarre is.
2 VVho is the Author of it
3 VVherefore it is ſent.

1. What *Warre* is.

THE Poets fayned VVarre to bee a Riuer running with blood, by reaſon of the manifolde and miſerable maſſacres and ſlaughters. VVe read in *Eſay*, how the Lorde threatned ſo great a ſlaughter among the Moabites, that the waters of *Dimon* ſhall be full of blood, Eſay 15,9: ſo merciles are men in vvarre that it may wel be true which *Homer* ſayth, There is ſome facietie of all things, except it be of war.

Some other of the Ethnick wryters, haue deemed war to be a fire alwaies flaming, becauſe they commonly vſe to conſume Citties and Townes when they are beſieged, with fire, as Iericho was by *Ioſua*, & Ieruſalem by the king of Babel.

Theſe bee rather deſcriptions of the fruites and effects of vvar, then a true definition.

The Phyloſophers define vvar to be the pride of Princes; VVee reade of *Alexander*, that hee was ſo aſpyring minded, that he thought the whole world too little to ſatisfie his luſt;

Thys is no perfect definition; for by thys reaſon vvee may define war to be a matter of ingratitude, becauſe *Dauid* tooke occaſion by the vnkindnes of *Hanun* to attempt warre, 2, Sam, 10, 7.

Some of the vvryters define vvar to be a forceable and hoſtile diſcention, vndertaken by lawfull Edict for the repreſsing of iniuries; Thys is the inferior and actiue definition,

tion, but not the effectuall: for vvar is nothing elſe but a diuine ſcourge for ſinne; Eſay 10, 26, Deut, 28.

IF VVarre be a ſcourge, wee muſt not laugh & ſet light by it: for as wee deeme that childe graceles which will not ſhed teares when hee is ſcourged of his Maiſter, ſo we are to be thought godles, if we will not ſorrow & implore vnder the ſcourge of God.

Thys meeteth with two contrary motions, vvhich proceede of ſiniſter { Greefe. Ioy.

1 Siniſter griefe is that, which is conceiued vpon carnall occaſions; as for example, it may bee there are manie vvhen they heare of vvarrs, it is grieuous to them in tvvo reſpects.

1 Of theyr expence.
2 Of theyr ſeruice.

1 Of theyr Expence, becauſe they are to bee at ſome charges in prouiding of Armour, and other martiall contributions: vvhat a contemptible and griple griefe is this.

There is no Prince in Chriſtendome euer poſſeſſed peace ſo long as our gracious Soueraigne; It is vvritten of Iuda and Iſraell, they dwelt vvithout feare, euery man vnder his own Vine, 1, Kin. 4, 25, the like hath been verified by vs in England; Reade throughout all Chronicles, and ſee howe many of her predeceſſors had the like Alcion dayes. Search the Scriptures, and you ſhall find how that beloued Lande of Iſraell neuer had the like fruition of peace as Englande had, vnleſſe it were in *Salomons* dayes; Diſcend into other Countries, and you ſhall ſee hovve the Lovve Countries haue beene afflicted with vvar 23. yeeres together; hovve Fraunce hath neuer beene free from intermiſsiue vvarrs; as for Spayne, I need not ſpeake of it.

Theſe things conſidered, what ingratefull and diſloyall perſons are theſe, vvhich hauing by continuance of peace gathered plentie; and with theyr plenty are ſo vncheerefull to part with a little to defend theyr Queene and theyr Countrey? *Tully* hath a prety ſaying, Hee that deſireth peace, let him prepare for vvar. How can a man be ſure to poſſeſſe any thing in his owne Country, vnleſſe hee prouideth to repell the enemie that commeth againſt it; Therefore that is a very mellifluous ſaying of one of the Fathers, *Sumptus pro militia honorabilis eſt*, the coſt for vvarfare is very honourable, for it is a meane to defend our liues, lyberties and lyuings, and to preſerue our wiues and children. Miſerable are thoſe men that will not ſtrayne themſelues at a pynch to defend theſe, vvhen of couetouſneſſe by ſparing coſt, they may be conſtrayned to forſake all.

2 Of their Seruice, others are grieued at VVarres, becauſe they muſt then leaue their wiues, children & goods, or rather becauſe they muſt hazard theyr liues? Far better it is for one to venture his lyfe like a man, then to be killed in his houſe like a beaſt; Is it not better to hazard the lyfe of one in an houſe, then in forbearing to fight, to bring in daunger the whole familie? The diuine Philoſopher ſaith, *Naſcimur pro Patria*, we are borne for our Countrie, and therefore we muſt regard our Prince and common-weale more then our owne priuate liues. 2, Sam. 10, 12. VVee haue example in *Iudith*, who for the good of her Country, put her life in great hazard in the hoſt of *Olofernes*, let not the courage of a woman condemne the humanitie of a man; for that is a reproch. Ierem. 51, 30. VVho can dye a more honorable death then for his Countrie, therfore we ſhall reade that amongſt the *Romaynes* there were the *Decians*, *Codrians*, and the brethren called *Phileni*, and amongſt the *Grecians*, there were *Marathonia*, *Salanina*, and diuers

others,

others, who of their owne accord gaue their liues for their Countries. *D. P. Martir in Com. Rom. Brutus* for the preſeruation of his Countrie, did ſlay his owne children. *Virgil* thus writeth of him; *Vicit amor patriæ, &c.* Let not vs which be Chriſtians haue leſſe loue and aleageance then Heathens.

From hence there is a good note to be obſerued of ſuch, who by vnequall oppreſsing and ill intreating, may be the cauſe of this kind of griefe, therefore they are to conſider how they may for their owne priuate diſpleaſures oppreſſe and abuſe men vnder colour of ſome lawfull buſines.

Iniury & anger may be offered and effected vnder. { 1 Office. 2 Arte.

1 Vnder office by theſe two, { A Magiſtrate. A Captayne.

By a Magiſtrate, amongſt the Romaynes, the Senators were called *Patres conſcripti*, appoynted Fathers: for a Magiſtrate is nothing but a father of the Country, yet ſuch an one as hath deriued authoritie for theſe cauſes, as no man doubteth but hee may ſhow much fauour where he affecteth, ſo all men may know if hee beareth a grudge to one, he may meete with hym vnder colour of his Commiſion many wayes; He may rayſe him in the Subſedie without equalitie: he may pack him forth for a common Souldiour, though he be vnfit, he may ouer-charge hym with Supplyes, &c. He may in other matters remember hym, as in extreame taxations for the poore, in vnreaſonable ratements, for a Towne, &c: Albeit I knowe not (and I pray God there be not) ſuch, yet it may fall out to be true which *Alexander* ſayde to *Mammea*, there is nothing ſometyme

more pernitious to a common wealth, then to haue things done by Deputies. *D. Mar. in com. Rom. cap. 12, fol. 418.*

VVee haue examples in the Scriptures, of ſuch as haue coloured their owne malice and dyſpleaſures, vnder pretence of ſome lawfull buſines.

Haman had a priuate malyce againſt *Mordecai*, becauſe hee would not moue hys cap or doe hym reuerence, hee would not for ſhame ſeeme to reuenge it himſelfe, though he were in great office, but he thought he would be euen with hym vnder colour of the Kings buſines by ſome deuiſe or other, as you may reade in Eſter, 3, 8, &c.

The Rulers and Gouernors had a ſecret ſpite to *Daniell*, becauſe he was far in fauor with the King, yet they would not offer hym an immediat bad meaſure, but they conſulted among them ſelues, to moue the King to make a Law, that by colour thereof, they might haue theyr myndes of good *Daniell*. Dan. 6, 8, &c.

If any of our Magiſtrates ſhould colour theyr own pryuate malyce vnder the Queenes buſines, although theyr ſecret pretence be no more known to her Maieſtie, then the intendment of theſe practiſes were to the Kings, yet by theſe examples let them feare, leaſt their dooings come to lyght, as the other dyd (albeit they deſerue not ſo fearefull a puniſhment as befel thoſe) that they purchaſe diſpleaſure of theyr Prince, vvho cannot abide to bolſter ſuch abuſes.

By a Captayne, who knoweth not how ſuch as be experimented profeſſors of Armes being in office and action, are a kind of protection for the tyme to certayne perſons; for this cauſe when *Dauid* vvas a Captayne in warre, there gathered to hym all men that were in trouble, and all men that were in debt, and all thoſe that vvere vexed in mind, and he vvas their Prince or Captayne, 1, Sa. 22, 2. Beſides, it is not to be ſpoken howe many waies they may

pleaſure

pleaſure a man in vvar, if they be vvilling; yet on the contrarie if a Captayne be offended at his Souldier and beate hym in the ſplene, he may quyte it vnder colour of hys office: hee may make martage of hym, hee may vvearie hym with vvants and diſcurteſies, hee may cauſe him to end his dayes in euery light skirmiſhe; He vvas a VVarriour that ſayd ſo himſelfe, and no meruaile, for we haue an example of it in the Scriptures, *Ioab* did of purpoſe place *Vriah* in the fore-front of the battell, that he might be ſlaine by the Philiſtims: *Vriah* and all the Hoſt were ignorant of the murderous intent, but *Ioab* did it vnder colour of his office, becauſe hee was a Captaine. That God which ſeeth the ſecrets of the hart did behold this homicide, & hee left not him vnpuniſhed which procured it; The acte vvas doone in ſecrete to auoyde ſhame amongſt men, but the puniſhment was publique, that it might bee example to others. VVhich example may be a warning to all VVarriors, to teach them to take heede how they reuenge theyr owne priuate diſpleaſures, vnder the colour of theyr lawfull callings. 2. Sam. 12. 12.

2 Vnder Art, by ſuch as theſe { Chirurgians, Phiſitions } & diuers other

Theſe men, if they bee angry with a man (eſpeciallie if he be their patient) they may effect it vnder colour of their Arte or practice: but becauſe it is impertinent in this place to ſpeake of, I will pretermit it.

Ioy, as we haue heard of ſome which are ſorry, ſo there be others which reioyce to heare of vvarres.

Thys

This finiſter Ioy is commonly incident to theſe { 1 Martiall attendants. 2 Deſperate } perſons. 3 Vnskilfull }

1 Martial attendants be ſuch as theſe { Decayed ſouldiers. Vnder officers. VVarlike workmē.

Decayed Souldiers, ſuch as depende vpon warres, they are welcome to them, for they perceiue the world is come to this paſſe, that as the Phiſition is but little regarded but in time of ſicknes, ſo Souldiers are but little ſet by but whē there is neede of theyr ſeruice; Certes it is pittie that anie approoued Souldier ſhould be put to ſhifts. Valorous *Cæſar* would neuer ſuffer it in his time; miſery may conſtraine a man too much; but yet for any to reioyce when there is common cauſe of ſorrow, and for his owne priuate commoditie, to deſire a generall calamitie, the one argueth his diſſolute minde to God, and the other bewrayeth him to be a bad member to his Country. I would haue ſuch men as theſe conſider, that the vſe of many things may be good though the things thēſelues be naught. M. *Caluin* to that effect ſayth, *Purus eſt multarum rerum vſus, quarum vitioſa eſt origo. Cal. in Math. cap. 5, verſe 37.* The vſe of manie things is pure, whoſe originall is impure. From hence I infer, that although the vſe of a Souldiers is neceſſary, yet to profeſſe a ſouldier (as *Eraſmus* ſayth) is of it ſelfe the puddle and ſincke of all miſchiefe; For to lyue by ſpoyles and ſpilling of blood what life more miſerable; Beſides, it is nothing delectable to God, but rather maketh any leſſe acceptable in ſome good action, as we reade of *Dauid*, who

was

was not onely a valiant, but a vertuous warrior, but when he went about to builde the Temple, the Lord ſayde hee ſhould not, becauſe he had been a man of warre, and had ſhed blood. 1, Chro, 28, 3.

Vnder officers, ſuch as may reape any profit in theyr places, as Clarks of Bands, which may get ſome benefite by the Booke, by entering, altering, or quitting of Souldiers: theſe are glad of warrs for gayne ſake. Notable is that example of *Gehaſi* for this purpoſe; *Elisha* was a good man, hee dyd a notable cure in the Syrian Captaine for meere good will without any gyfts, but his ſeruant *Gehaſi* without his knowledge, would needes take a brybe. VVe haue many godly Lieuetenants and Captaines in Europe, who although they themſelues reſpect rewardes no more then *Elisha* did, yet ſuch as be vnder them (without theyr priuities) perhaps like *Gehaſi* doe looke to get ſome-vvhat that way, to be gratified one way or other. But as *Gehaſi* for his couetous act was afterward turned away by his Maiſter, with a grieuous puniſhment, 2, Kings 5, ſo let theſe take heede leaſt theyr dooings be diſcerned by their Maiſters, and they be put out of office with diſpleaſure, as *Gehaſi* was.

VVarlike workmen, ſuch as lyue by making, mending, or ſelling of Armour, warres are welcome to them, for as the Lawyers thriue beſt when men are moſt litigious, ſo are they in time of warre moſt ſet to worke, for in tyme of peace they profit not; Therefore, as ſome bad Lawyer doth ſecretly wiſh that men would be contentious, that he might haue Clyents, ſo it fareth vvith theſe kinde of men, they vviſh warres, that they may haue vvorke: they care not vvhoſe houſe be on fire, ſo theyrs be ſafe, they grieue not at warre, becauſe it is ſent for a puniſhment, but they reioyce at it, becauſe it is occaſion of theyr profit.

2 Deſperate perſons, ſuch as haue nothing to looſe, nor wyfe or chyldren to looke to, they are glad of warres, all Countries are a lyke to them, hab, nab, fall backe, fall edge, all is one to them, vvhether they be friendly foes to the enemy, or deadly enemies to their Country; ſo they may ſhift, they care not what ſhift they make; they laugh when they ſee others lament, it doth them good to ſee other men waſte their goods, becauſe they haue nothing: they will rayle, and doe hope to raigne ouer rich men one day; they will not let to ſay they looke to bee owners of theyr lyuings, & to haue their poſſeſsions when they ſhall liue in pouerty; As we read of the beſieging of Ieruſalem, how the rich were killed or made captiues, but as for the poore, they were left ſtill liuing, & the enemie gaue them the Vineyards and Fieldes of the rich men. Iere. 39, 6, 10.

3 Vnskilfull perſons, they reioyce at war becauſe they know not what it is, as the Phyloſopher ſaith, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, warre is ſweete to ſuch as neuer taſte it, becauſe in ordinary traynings, they vſe to skirmiſh for theyr learning: or in theyr May-games for delight; They thinke warre to be a matter of merriment. Alas, it is an eaſie matter to play *Hercules* in our houſes, or *Alexander* vppon the ſtages: but it is ſomewhat to follow thē in the field, where euery bullet doth threaten death.

2 Who is the *Author* of Warre.

VVe muſt cōſider that there is { 1 A ſpeciall, 2 A manuall } Author.

1 THE ſpeciall Author is GOD, as appeareth by his owne ſpeech, when hee ſaith: I will ſende plagues

plagues vpon them, the ſword ſhall kill them without, and in the Chambers feare. Deut, 32, 22, 25. It is ſaid in the Parable, that the King ſent foorth his VVarriors. Math, 22, 7.

The Iſraelits confeſſed all their afflictions to come of God: for (ſay they) he hath ſpoyled vs, and hee will heale vs, he hath wounded vs, and he will binde vs vp. Hoſ. 6, 1. He is therfore called the Lord of Hoſts, becauſe hee ruleth and raigneth ouer all hoſts.

2 The manuall Author, to our apprehenſion is the Enimy, becauſe wee perceiue the Spanyarde maketh great preparation, and purpoſeth to come againſt vs; Many of vs take him to be the Author, in that he appeareth to be the Actor. *Auguſtine* ſaith well, they which make vvarre, are not ſo much th Authors as the Miniſters of God, *Aug. 10. queſt. ſuper Iohn:* for he is both the Paſsiue, Miſsiue, & motiue Author, as appeareth by pregnant examples in the Scriptures.

He is the Motiue Author, for he mouth and ſtirreth vp the Enemie, or els he could not come. The Philiſtims and Arabians came againſt Iuda, to deſtroy it, yet they came not of their owne accord, for it is written, the Lord ſtyrred vp againſt *Iehoram* (the King of Iuda) the ſpirit of the Philiſtims: 2, Chro, 21, 16. The Medes & Perſians made vvarre againſt Babilon, thys was not their owne voluntary act, for the Lord had ſayd before, I will ſtyr vp the Medes againſt it. Eſay, 13, 17. Therefore we may gather frō theſe examples, that if the Spaniard with his confederates bend their forces to vs, it is not altogether his own ſeeking, but God which exciteth him to it; For as *P. Martyr* ſayth, It is God that ſtirreth vp cruell Princes & Tyrants, which may be called the hoſt of God. *In com. Rom.*

He is the Miſsiue Author: for after he hath excited the Enimy, he ſendeth him, or els he could not approch. The

Chaldees, Aramites, Ammonites, and Moabites beſieged Iudah, their comming conſiſted not in their own election, for it is written the Lord ſent againſt him (that is the King of Iudah,) bands of the Chaldees, bands of the Aramits, &c. 2, Kings, 24, 2. *Nabuchadnezar* with his power came againſt Ieruſalem to deſtroy it, the choyſe was not in him to tarry or retyre, for the Lord had ſaid before, I wil ſend them. Ierem, 25, 9. Now, if the Spaniard hath a purpoſe to come againſt vs, it is in God to diſpoſe: his comming lieth not in his owne liberty, but the Lords.

He is the Paſsiue Author: for albeit he firſt ſtirreth, and afterward ſendeth the Enimy, yet he can do nothing whē he is come, without Gods ſufferance. The Iſraelits had grieuouſly tranſgreſſed, for which cauſe they fell into the hands of theyr enimy: the enemy could not haue preuailed without Gods permiſsion; for it is written that God deliuered them into the hands of ſpoylers that ſpoyled them. Iudg. 2, 14.

Sith it is God that ſtirreth, ſendeth and ſuffereth the Enimy to doe his good pleaſure, they are but his ſeruants, as the Lord termed *Nabuchadnezer* his ſeruant, Ierem, 27, 6. Or his inſtruments, as *Eſay* calleth them, the weapons of his wrath, chap, 13, 5. And they are ſo fitly called, becauſe the Lord doth make them ſerue him by conſtraint, & that which they doe of malice, hee directeth and turneth it to his honour and glory; ſo that frō hence we may conclude that God is the ſpeciall Author of VVar.

In that God is the Author, we may obſerue three thinges,
1 His power by the effects.
2 His diſpleaſure by the action.
3 His loue by the end.

1 His

1 His power by the effects, though Kings and Princes are as Gods vpon earth, yet there is a God aboue them, who can brydle theyr wills as hee will: this ſhould teach vs to relie vpon God: for admit the Spanyard hath a purpoſe to come againſt vs, yet this is our comfort, hys heart is in the handes of God, whoſe power is ſuch, that if it be hys good pleaſure, hee can alter the determination of the Spanyard, before he ſetteth forth to fight, as he did by *Reboboam*, when hee was bent to vvarre againſt the *Iſralites*. 1, Kings 12, 24: He can intercept his comming when hee is vpon the Seas, and drowne hym, as he did *Pharaoh* and hys hoſt. VVhen hee is about our Coaſtes, hee can put a hooke into hys noſthrils, as hee dyd by *Senacherib*, and make hym returne that vvay he came, 2, Chro. 32, or hee can diſpierce and ſcatter them into vnknowne Coaſtes, as he dyd by the Spanyard his laſt viage. Such is the power of God, as one of the auncient Fathers ſaith, that there is not any thing done, but that he would haue to be done, either ſuffering it to be done, or hee hym ſelfe doing it. *Auguſt. lib. voc. Enchiredion ad Laurentium.*

2 Hys diſpleaſure by the action; for it is an argument of his anger, and therfore you ſhall reade in the Scriptures, that God neuer ſendeth vvarre but in his vvrath, the Lord him ſelfe ſpeaking of Ieruſalem vvhich vvas beſieged by the enemie, ſayth: In my wrath I ſmote thee. Eſay 60, 10. In the 2, and 3, Chapters of the Iudges, the Lord ſent and ſet the Enemie againſt the *Iſralites*, many tymes: It appeareth in thoſe places that hee neuer dyd it, but vvhen hys vvrath or anger was kindled againſt them: Now the anger of God is grieuous, for the Prophet ſayth of hym, that he ſmote the people in anger vvith a continuall plague. Iſaiah 14, 6. *Salomon* ſayth that the Kings wrath is like the roring of a Lyon, Pro. 19, then what is his vvrath, who is King

of Kings, thys ſhould moue vs to take thys courſe, wee ſee when the Prince is diſpleaſed vvith hys vaſſaile, he vvill vſe all meanes to pacifie hym, for feare hee ſhall be caſt cleane out of fauour, ſo ſhould vve when vve perceiue the anger of God is kinled againſt vs, ſeeke all poſsible wayes to appeaſe hym, for feare he giue vs ouer to the luſt of our Enemyes, and therefore let euery one of vs pray vvith *Daniell*, and ſay as he dyd in the lyke caſe; O Lord according to all thy righteruſneſſe, I beſeech thee let thyne anger and thy wrath be turned away, Dan. 9, 16.

3 Hys loue by the end, that father which doth chaſtiſe his child for hys faults doth loue him, euen ſo our heauenlie father which doth correct his children for theyr offences doth affect them, and as the rod is a readie meanes to brydle and reclayme chyldren from vntowardnes, ſo is vvarre a good ſcourge to make vs remember our miſdeeds, and ſeek to God. The Lord (ſpeaking of the *Iſralites*) ſaith, in theyr affliction they vvill ſeeke me diligently, Hoſ. 5, 15, and the Prophet *Dauid* ſaith: it is good for me that I haue been afflicted for this reaſon, that I may learn thy ſtatutes, Pſa. 119, 71. VVe ſee by experience that the child vnleſſe he be ſometime beaten, he falleth to all vnbrideled looſeneſſe, ſo it fareth vvith vs, if we ſhould not ſometime feele Gods afflictions, vvee ſhould runne into all filthyneſſe, euen as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, before I was afflicted I went aſtray. Pſal. 119, 67: Therefore let vs beare Gods puniſhment with patience, for as gold is purified by the fire, ſo are we refined by afflictions, and as the Bee conuerteth into honie, that vvhich the ſpyder doth to poyſon, ſo that vvhich the enemie doth of euill, God turneth it to our good.

In that the Enemies are Gods ſeruants wee may note two thinges. { 1 A Lymitation. 2 A Reprehenſion.

1 A Lymi-

1 A Lymitation, vve commonly ſee that Seruants are worſe many tymes then theyr Mayſters; the Steward in Mathew dealt well with his Seruant, but he dealt extreamlie vvith others. Math. 18, 28: the Lord vſeth the Spaniard as a ſpur to prouoke vs to amendment, but it may be ſayd of hym, as of *Ashur*, but he thinketh not ſo, neyther doth hys heart eſteeme it ſo, but he imagineth to deſtroy. Iſaiah, 10, 7. for he commeth with a reſolute purpoſe, to execute his owne crueltie, and not to the ende to pleaſe God. Yet this is our comfort, he is but Gods Seruant, and therefore he can doe no more then God will permit & appoint him, no, though he were as bad as the deuill: for you ſee howe ſatan could do no more to *Iob* then GOD ſuffered him to doe. Iob, 1.

2 A reprehenſion, this concerneth vs, wee are readie to rayle and curſe the Spanyard that moleſteth vs, but in the meane time, we do not remember he is Gods ſeruant, which if we did, we woulde not ſo much reſpect the enimie, as he that ſendeth him; The Spanyard no doubt banneth and curſeth vs to the pit of heli, as we terme it, what then, let vs forbeare him by the example of *Dauid*, who being curſed of *Shimei*, a wicked man, hee put it vp patiently, becauſe, (ſaith he) the Lord did bid him curſe, 2, Sa. 16, 10. If a Noble mans man abuſe vs in words, wee will beare with him the more for his Lord and Maiſters ſake: much more ought we to beare with the ſeruants of God; VVe muſt not imitate euill by the example of the wicked, though they be incited & ſuffered to curſe, we haue greater cauſe to thanke GOD if he hath giuen vs grace to refraine. Beſides, it is but a vvindie conqueſt is got vvith words, therefore you ſhall reade when *Dauid* vvas to deale with *Goliah*, this Giant did curſe and ſcorne him in deriſion; *Dauid* digeſted his words with ſilence, but he praied

and

and prepared himſelfe to incounter with him to ſome purpoſe. Let vs follow his courſe, what though the Spaniard doth curſe vs and ſcorne vs as *Goliah* dyd *Dauid*, let vs forbeare him, (for wee can ſpeede neuer the better for our ſpeeches,) but let vs like *Dauid* prepare our ſelues to repell him.

3 Wherfore *Warre* is ſent.

THere are many thinke warre to be a thing of courſe, becauſe it hath been common in all ages, whereas it is moſt certaine, that God neuer ſendeth any croſſe without cauſe.

The cauſe of warre is double, { 1 Secondary. 2 Efficient.

1 The Secondary cauſe is that we aſcribe to outwarde meanes, and inſtant occaſions: as for example in other things, if we haue any loſſe of goods, we vſe to ſay it came by caſualtie of fire, ſhypwracke vpon the Seas, &c. Or if we get a ſicknes, we tooke it by ſuch a iourney, or of ſuch a colde &c. And ſo in this ſence we commonly ſay vvhen we haue vvarrs, it is the malice, pryde or impietie of the Enimy that cauſeth it. VVhen in the meane time we doe not conſider who it is that exciteth, ſendeth, offereth or ſuffereth ſuch motions or meanes to effect, and for what cauſe he doth it.

2 The efficient cauſe of warre is of two ſorts, { 1 For Correction. 2 For Reformation.

1 For Correction, as a ſcourge or puniſhment for ſin, which the God of hoſts himſelfe affirmeth, when he ſaith,

If

If he ſinne I will chaſten him with the rod of men, 2, Sam, 7, 14. And the Pſalmiſt to that effect ſayth: If they break my ſtatuts, then will I (ſpeaking in the perſon of GOD) viſite theyr tranſgreſsions with the rod: Pſal, 89, 32. It is written in the Chronicles, that the King of Egipt came vp againſt Ieruſalem, becauſe they had tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord: 2, Chro, 12, 2, and ſo if the Spaniard commeth againſt vs, we muſt perſwade our ſelues that our ſinnes are the chiefe cauſe of it.

But whether God ſendeth warre to vs for our ingratitude, for our laſt deliuery from the Spaniard, as he dyd to *Hezekiah* for his vnthankfulneſſe when he was deliuered from *Senacherib*, 2, Chron, 32, 25, or whether it be for our oppreſsion and cruelty, as hee did to the Iſraelites for the like ſinnes, Ierem, 6, 6, or whether it be for any groſſe ſins amongſt vs, as he did to the Babilonians for theyr barbarous beaſtlines, Eſay 13, or whether it be for our murmuring at this Scarcitie, or for the hardnes of our harts to the poore in this extreame time, God knowes; ſome grieuous ſinnes there be that prouoke the Lord, for elſe he would not viſite vs, two yeares together vvith Scarcitie, and the third yeare threaten vs with warre.

2 For Reformation, that warre is ſent to reforme and amend vs is manifeſt; Behold, famine, plague, anguiſh & trouble, are ſent as ſcourges for amendement: 2, Eſd, 16, 15. The father doth chaſtiſe his ſonne, not becauſe he taketh pleaſure in puniſhing of him, but that he may by it brydle and amend him; Euen ſo GOD the Father correcteth vs which be his children, not becauſe hee delighteth in puniſhment, but to the end he may therby reclaym vs frō our iniquities. As the rod of wood is a meane to make the vntoward childe gracious, ſo is the rod of warre an inſtigation to mooue vs to good: as it is ſaide of Iudah, Lorde in

trouble haue they visited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chastening vvas vpon them; Esay, 26, 16. And therfore God dealeth with vs as a Phisitian: A good Phisitian will cease from ministring phisick to his patient whē he is recouered; or as a Master, who will stay from stryking his seruant when he is growne better by his beating. So God, he desisteth his punishments so soone as wee are profited by them. I will recite one example in steed of many, the Lord raised vp *Shishake* to scourge *Rehoboam* for his sinne, but the text sayth, Because he humbled himselfe the wrath of the Lord turned from him; 2, Chro, 12, 12.

From the matter precedent wee may obserue two things,
1 A grieuous cominatiō.
2 A notable consolation.

1 A grieuous comination, by the correction if wee repent not: for if we perseuere in our sins, what foloweth?

Punishments
Temporall.
Eternall.

Temporall punishments: for the Lord sayth to such, I will set my face against you, and yee shall fall before your enimies, and they that hate you shall raigne ouer you. Leu. 26, 17. Let vs make this case our own: what a heauy iudgment were this, if the Lord (for our committing and continuing in sinne) should frowne vpon vs when the Spaniard commeth with his force against vs, & should suffer him to preuaile as the Medes & Persians did in Babilon, would he not deale as they did, of whom it is said: their chyldren shall be broken in peeces before theyr eyes, theyr houses shall be spoyled, and theyr wiues rauished, Esay, 13, 16.

VVere

VVere not this a lamentable ſight to beholde, and to haue him to raigne ouer vs that hateth vs what a miſerable bondage were it? vvho would not think but that this puniſhment were grieuous and ſufficient: but if we ſtil perſeuere, the Lord wil ſtil purſue vs, for he ſaith; If yee will not for theſe things obey me, then will I puniſh you ſeauen times more, according to your ſinnes; Leuit,26. As we ſee hee delt by *Pharaoh*, he neuer left of his plagues ſo long as hee liued impenitent; Thys may teach vs howe grieuous a thing ſinne is with perſeuerance.

Eternall puniſhments, the temporall plagues are but an enterance to theſe. *Hoc ſuſpicari &c.* ſayth *Gregory*, a man cannot ſuſpect howe extreame thoſe paynes are. Such as perſeuere in wickednes, let them remember what *Paule* ſayth, They doe but heape vp wrath againſt the day of iudgement, Rom,2,5. As *D. Martir* ſayth vvel vpon that place, a hard hart is that which wil not be mollified with Gods benefits, woon with hys mercyes, broke with hys threatnings, nor reclaymed with his puniſhments.

The Heathen men had thys naturall fore-ſight for the reſtraint of ſinne; The Lidians would haue in theyr houſes the picture of a deuill in forme of an Ethiopian, that by the horrible ſight, they might abhor that which brought him to it, which was ſinne. The Perſians would paynt an Epicure diſguiſed with exceſſe, that theyr chyldren might auoyde the like fault, by ſeeing that deformitie. The Lacedemonians would ſhew theyr youths drunken and deſperat men, that they might be deterred from ſinne, by the lothſomnes of that ſight; If Chriſtian men, would ſet before them the horror of hell, it would make them feareful to practiſe euill, much more to perſeuere in it. For thys cauſe *Chryſoſtome* willeth vs to talke often of hell, that wee may take heede of it.

2 A notable Conſolation, by the Reformation, if wee take profit by this puniſhment, in reforming our lyues and lyuing in the feare of God. The Spaniarde may perhaps feare-blaſt vs with his Armie, but he ſhall neuer preuaile in his attempt; for the Lord ſaith of ſuch: the Sworde ſhall not goe through your Land, yee ſhall chaſe your enimies, and they ſhall fall before you vpon the ſword. Leuit, 26. Although the Lord hath prepared the Spaniard to come againſt vs, and had pronounced to puniſh vs, yet his penall promiſes are but conditionall, for if we repent, he repenteth; If (ſaith hee) this Nation againſt whom I haue pronounced, turne from theyr wickednes, I will repent of the plague that I thought to bring vpon them, Ierem, 18, 8, therefore let vs all pray for the grace of repentance, and labour to ſhew forth the fruites of it.

Such as haue oppreſſed and bitten their bretheren with extreame bargaines theſe hard yeeres, let them make ſome amends; The Ethnicks required double reſtitution, Zaccheus made foure-fold reſtitution, Luke, 19. Salamon telleth vs of a ſeauen-fold reſtitution, Prou, 6, and therefore they may do little if they make not ſome reſtitution. Such as haue carried theyr heads as hie as Lucifer, let them now holde downe their heads like Bulruſhes. Such as haue ground the faces of the poore, let them doe good to them thys time of Scarcetie, not onely for commandement ſake, as *Sirach* ſayth, Ecclus, 37, but euen for pollicie ſake: for you know what Salomon ſayth: In the multitude of the people is the honour of a King, but for the want of people commeth the deſtruction of the Prince, Prou, 14, 28. If God ſhould ſend the enemie againſt vs, the moſt defencible ſtrength of the Land conſiſteth in the poore, for they are ſubiect to moſt ſeruice and greateſt dangers; VVee ſee thys hard ſeaſon that the poore begin to pine alreadie, be-

cauſe

cauſe they want the ſtay and ſtaffe of theyr ſtrength, which is bread; Now, if we would haue them to fight for vs, let vs not ſee them famiſh; if we would haue them forcibly to vſe theyr weapons, let vs not infeeble them for want of victuals; If we would haue them ſtrong, let vs not ſtarue them. How can a ſouldier bee hardie againſt the enemie, when his hart is killed for want of ſuccour? therefore if we loue our Prince, let vs labour to preſerue the honor of our Prince, let vs not ſuffer the multitude of her people to perriſh for want of ſuſtenance, leaſt if the Spaniarde happen to come, wee haue miſſe of thoſe men to defend vs, which for want of our foode did famiſh.

Generally, ſeeing all ſinne is odious, and the naming of it tedious, let euery one of vs amend one: ſo by our true contrition, we ſhall pacifie the Lord, and cauſe him to appeaſe the furie of our foes.

1 How to debilitate and repell the Enemie.

The meanes which we muſt vſe, are two { 1 Diuine, 2 Humaine.

The diuine meanes be theſe { Inuocation, Abſtinence.

INuocation, as a learned vvryter ſayth, is that vvhereby we flye vnto God in all perils and aduerſities, with an aſſured confidence that he is able to ſuccour and defend vs, *D. Martir in Com. Ro. cap.* 1. This inuocation or prayer we ought to practiſe as a thing moſt precious. Firſt, be-

cauſe it is the forme to frame al our requeſts by: let your requeſts be ſhewed vnto God by praier. Phil. 4,6. Secondly, becauſe we are willed to vſe it in our diſtreſſe for eaſe. Call vpon me in the time of trouble,& I wil heare thee. Pſal. 50, 15. Thirdly, becauſe it effecteth many things. *Moſes* did more good in lyfting vp his handes, then the Iſraelites dyd with theyr weapons, for when he did let down his hands, the Amalekites preuayled. Exod. 17, 11. Fourthly, becauſe he wee call vpon is the God of Hoſtes, and therefore vve haue many reaſons to moue vs to pray to him: for firſt, he muſt prepare our hearts therevnto, or elſe we cannot pray. VVe cannot thinke a good thought, 2, Cor. 3: neyther ſay that Ieſus is the Lord, 1, Cor. 12, 3. Then much leſſe can vve pray vvithout hym. Secondly, his power is infallible, and therefore he is ſuch an one as we may ſtay vpon. *Abiah* got the victory of *Ieboram*, not vvith worldly power, but the text ſayth, Iudah preuayled, becauſe they ſtaid vpon the Lord God, of their fathers, 2, Chro. 13, 18. Heer-of *Dauid* ſayth, bleſſed is the man that maketh the Lord hys truſt. Pſal. 40, 4, 3. Hys prouydence is vigilant, and therefore is alvvayes readie at hand to helpe, the Lord is neere vnto all that call vpon hym, ſayth the Pſalmiſt, Pſ. 145, 18. He maketh vs pertakers of his eſſentiall preſence. VVhen *Ieboshaphat* was to fight againſt his enemies, what a comfort vvas this to him, when he heard, the Lord will be vvith you, 2, Chro. 20, 17, and fight for you, as he did for Iſrael. Ioſh. 10, 14. Fourthly, without hym wee can do nothing, and therefore we haue neede to pray to him. The Horſe is prepared againſt the day of battell, but ſaluation is of the Lord. Pro. 21, 31. There is no hope of proſperous ſucceſſe, if the Lord ſayth the Enemie ſhall gather hym ſelfe but vvithout me, Eſay 54, 15: whereas if he be with vs, vve are aſſured none can be againſt vs or hurt vs,

2 Chro,

2, Chro. 18, 31.

Thys prayer or inuocation is ſo heauenly a medecine for humaine malydies, that our fore-fathers dyd flye vnto it, as a refuge, vvhen theyr enemies afflicted them. Nowe becauſe we may haue the lyke occaſion of trouble as they had, it ſhall not be impertinent to expreſſe ſome of theyr zealous prayers, for vs to practiſe in the like extreamitie.

Examples and formes of godly prayers, vſed in vvarres.

VVHen the Ethiopians came to vvarre againſt *Aſa*, that godly King, the text ſaith that he cried vnto the Lord his God and ſayd:

> Lord it is nothing with thee to helpe with many, or vvith no power, helpe vs ô Lord our God: for we reſt on thee, and in thy name are vvee come againſt thys multitude, ô Lord thou art our God, let not man preuayle againſt thee, 2, Chro. 14, 11.

The Lord heard hys prayer, for it followeth in theſe words. So the Lord ſmote the Ethiopians before *Aſa*.

VVhen the Aſsirians came to aſſault Iſrael, the Scripture ſayth that *Hezekiah* prayed before the Lord and ſayd:

> O Lord God of Iſrael, vvhich dwelleſt betweene the Cherubins, thou art very God alone, ouer all the kingdomes of the earth, thou haſt made the heauen and the earth, nowe therefore ô Lord our God, I beſeech thee ſaue thou vs out of hys hand, that all the kingdomes of the earth may know, that thou ô Lord art onely God. 2, Kings 19.

His prayer preuailed with the Lord: for it is there written, I haue heard that vvhich thou prayedſt me, verſe 20.

VVhen

VVhen the Moabites and Ammonites dyd war againſt *Iehoshaphat*, that vertuous King, he prayed vnto the Lord and ſayd:

> O our God, vvilt thou not iudge them: for there is no ſtrength in vs, to ſtand before this great multitude that commeth againſt vs, neither do we know vvhat to doo: but our eyes are toward thee, 2, Chro. 20, 12.

Hys prayer had good ſucceſſe: for hee ouer-threw all hys Enemyes.

VVhen *Lyſias* came vvith a multitude of men againſt *Iudas*, when he ſaw that mighty Army, he praied and ſaid.

> O Lord ſhut vp this Armie, in the hand of thy people, and let them be confounded, with theyr power, make them afrayd and conſume theyr boldneſſe and ſtrength, that they may bee aſtoniſhed at theyr deſtruction. Caſt them downe by the ſword of them that loue thee, then ſhall all they that know thy name prayſe thee, 1, Macch. 4, 31.

Hys prayer was not neglected of the Lord: for he ſlew many of the hoſt of his Enemie.

Let vs follow thys courſe, when the Spanyards come againſt vs, and we ſhall receiue the like comfort, their prayers were pithie and ſhort, vvithout vayne babling, lyke the Heathen, or ambition lyke the Phariſies, but the profite which came of theyr peticions vvere vnſpeakeable.

In the time of the olde lawe, it vvas not onely a trouble but a charge, to offer ſacrifice to God; for there vvas killing and offering of Bullockes, Calues, Sheepe, &c. But now the Lord requireth nothing of vs, but the calues of our lips, as *Hoſea* ſpeaketh on, Hoſ. 14, 3, or the fruite of the lips, as the Author of the Hebrewes ſayth, *Cap. 13, 15.* Therefore we may do little if we will not afford our lips to

pray

pray vnto God, ſo it proceedeth from the hart, otherwiſe as *Auguſtine* ſayth, *Oratio ſine deuotione eſt quaſi mugitus bouis.* Prayer without deuotion is as the lowing of an Oxe. But if it be ſincere, then as *Caluine* ſayth, it is an honourable ſacrifice to God. *Cal. cap. 4, 1. Epiſt. ad Timotheum.*

Abſtinance is the ſecond diuine meane to vſe, I do not note thys, as a diſtinct action by it ſelfe, but as a neceſſarie appendant to accompanie prayer: for although prayer is bettered by faſting, yet faſting is of no force without prayer, therefore in the Scriptures they commonly concur together, Luke 2, 36.

Our fore-fathers vvould vnite faſting and prayer together in all their afflictions, eyther priuatlie with theyr families, as *Daniell* dyd, *Cap. 9, 3.* and *Dauid* dyd, 2, Sam. 1, 12, vvhen it ſpecially concerned them ſelues; or elſe publiquelie, when it generallie toucht a vvhole land: as vvee reade of *Iehoshaphat*, how hee proclaymed a faſt through all hys dominions, vvhen the Enemies dyd threaten the ſword, 2, Chro. 20. whoſe example vvee ought to immitate, becauſe he was a godly Prince.

This Faſting ſer- { 1 To fortifie the Spyrit.
ueth for a double vſe { 2 To mortifie the fleſh.

1 To fortifie the Spirit, for by faſting the Spirite hath a more free paſſage vnto prayer: the reaſon is, becauſe the ſences beeing filled, are inclined to ſluggiſhnes, according to the old ſaying: *Impletus venter quarit dormire libentur.* Therefore we ſhal read how *Dauid* in many of his pſalmes ſaith; Early or betimes in the morning will I direct my prayer vnto thee ô Lord: becauſe his prayer was moſt feruent when he was faſting; wherby wee may ſee that corporall emptines is a furtherance to ſpirituall exerciſes.

2 To mortifie the fleſh from ſinning; the ground the more it is manured, it bringeth forth more weedes, ſo the fleſh, the more it is pampered, it is the more prone to wickednes: and therfore as the ſtrongeſt Caſtle is ſoone taken if the ſouldiers want ſuſtenaunce, ſo the raging luſtes are ſoone ſubdued if the fleſh be not foſtered. For thys cauſe the Pſalmiſt ſayth: I humbled my ſoule with faſting, Pſal. 35, 13; which is the onely fruite of faſting. Therefore as *Bernard* ſayth: *Si oculus offendit, ieiunat oculus*: if the eye offend, let it faſt: that is if it hath beene before inclined to wanton lookes, (as *Dauids* was when hee beheld *Berſaba*) let it now refraine; and ſo in the reſt of the members, as they haue done amiſſe ſo let them amend; For true faſting (as *Baſil* ſaith) requireth a ſuppreſsing of anger, and cutting of carnall concupiſcence; And then as *Ierome* ſayth, is faſting moſt excellent to GOD, *Cum aliquis ieiunat a vitiis*, when any doth faſt or refraine from ſinne.

The Hypocrite, he will faſt for vaine-glory, the Couetous man to ſpare expence; the Glutton to get him a ſtomack: but let vs faſt to crucifie the luſts of the fleſh, to mitigate ſinne. If *Eue* had faſted from the tree, we neede not thys faſt, ſaith *Baſil*. VVe haue many reaſons to reſtraine vs from ſinne, but by the imminent occaſion, if the Spaniard happen to approch, we haue 2. ſpeciall reaſons to refraine from euill at that inſtant. Firſt, our principall ſtrength cõſiſteth in God, and therefore wee muſt ſue and ſeeke vnto hym by prayer. Now, if we will gladly obtaine that wee aske, we muſt willingly abſtaine from that hee abhorreth. Let euery one that call vpon GOD, depart from iniquitie ſayth Paul, 2, Tim, 2, 19. ſo that there is nothing can hinder our ſute but ſin. Secondly, if we deſire good ſucceſſe againſt the Enimy, if it happen otherwiſe, we may impute it to our ſin. VVhen *Ioſua* ſent men to beſiege *Ai*, ſome of them

them were ſlaine by the enemie, and the reſt that returned were diſcomforted, only for the ſin of one man. Ioſu, 7, 12. The Lorde neuer ſuffered the enimies to preuaile againſt the Iſralites in time of war, but when they had committed ſome notable ſins: Iudg, 3, 12. And if any thing falleth out otherwiſe then wel amongſt vs by the Spaniard, wee muſt think we haue ſome grieuous ſinns that cauſe it, or els you ſhall reade in the ſcriptures, that the godly (which ſerued the true God as we do) had ſeldome or neuer any bad ſucceſſe in their battels when they were beſet with theyr enemies, but by occaſion of ſome heynous actions: and therefore it was not without cauſe that *Moſes* made thys lawe or exhortation for ſouldiers; VVhen thou goeſt out with the Hoſt againſt thine enimies, keepe thee then from all wickednes. Deut, 23, 9.

2 The Humaine meanes be theſe { Politicall, Inſtrumentall, Patheticall.

The politicall meanes belong ſpecially to the Prince and high powers, for good conſideration & conſultation to be taken in ſo weighty an attempt. VVhen *Hezekiah* ſaw that *Senacherib* purpoſed to fight againſt his country, thē (ſaith the text) he tooke counſel with his Princes & his Nobles, 2, Chro, 32, 3. For as *Salomon* ſaith, VVhere no counſell is, the people fal, but where many Counſellers are, there is health, Prou. 11, 14. The Parable in Luke fitlie aludeth to thys purpoſe, vvhere it is ſayd, vvhat King going to make warre againſt an other King, ſitteth not down firſt and taketh counſell, whether he be able with tenne thouſand to meet him that commeth againſt him with twentie thouſand, Luke 14, 31. *Ioſua* at the firſt tooke a foyle of the men of *Ai*, becauſe hee ſent not aboue 3000. men: but afterward, well conſulting of the matter, and ſeeing the enimy

ſo ſtrong, he ſent aboue thirty thouſand men, and then he vanquiſhed them, Ioſu, 7, & 8. It was not amiſſe ſpoken by a wicked King, that counſel and ſtrength are for the vvar, 2, Kings 18, 20, for power little preuaileth without counſell, or proweſſe without policie; for what weighty exployts haue been atchiued abrode, but by good aduiſe at home? the ouerthrowe of Carthage was wrought by the aduiſe of *Cato* a Counſeller; Iericho was beſieged of the Iewes by the wholſome counſel of *Ioſua*, Ioſ, 6. Diuers other examples there be in the Scriptures to thys purpoſe, but I will omit them; all that I will add is thys, ſeeing God ſtandeth in the congregation of the Gods, as the Pſalmiſt ſayth, I beſeech him ſo to ſanctifie theyr counſels, as it may turne to our good, and his glory.

The inſtrumentall meane, as men and munition, muſt not be neglected, although God can deſtroy the enimy immediatly, as he did the hoſt of *Senacherib*, or miraculouſlie, as he did Iericho by the meanes of Rams hornes: and the Moabites by dazeling theyr ſight with the ſun-ſhine vpon the water, 2, Reg, 3, 22, and *Pharaoh* and his hoſt by the red Sea; yet we muſt vſe the lawfull & ordinary courſe of defence; for God doth not now ſtrikè immediatly, or ſo miraculouſly, but by meanes, to the end we ſhould not contemne the meanes, or altogether depend vpon the means, Eſay, 31, 1, but to vſe and commende the meanes to Gods bleſsing, who can giue good ſucceſſe, be the meanes neuer ſo ſimple.

The patheticall meanes are to bee vſed by ſuch as haue the regiment or conduct of ſouldiers, to encourage and comfort them, for fleſh and blood is fearefull. The beſt VVarriors of al wil ſomtime be abaſhed, and therefore no meruaile though the common ſort be ſomwhat timorous. For this cauſe we find diuers inſtances in the ſcriptures, of

Generals,

Generals, Captaines, and worthy warriors, who haue vſed very pathetical and moouing ſpeeches, to comfort and incourage theyr companies in war.

It is ſayd of *Hezekiah*, that he ſpake comfortablie to hys people, when the Aſsirians intended to aſſault hym, hys wordes are theſe: Bee ſtrong and couragious, feare not, neyther be afrayd, for the King of Aſhur, neyther for all the multitude that is with hym: for there be more with vs then with hym; vvith hym is an arme of fleſh, but with vs is the Lord our God for to helpe vs, and to fight our battayles, 2, Chro. 32, 7, 8. The people hearing theſe comfortable ſpeeches (although before they vvere ſomewhat afrighted) the text ſayth, then the people vvere confirmed, by the words of *Hezekiah*. *Ioab* was a valiant Captayne vnder *Dauid*, and he comforted hys Souldiers in this ſort: Be ſtrong, & let vs be valiant for our people, and for the Citties of our God, and let the Lord doo that vvhich is good in his eyes, 2, Sam. 10, 12. Albeit *Ioab* was otherwiſe in hys lyfe, a bloodie man, not onely in vvarre, but in time of peace, 1, Kings 2, 5, yet who could vſe a more com-mouing kind of ſpeech, to comfort and incourage hys Souldiers then this? inſomuch as they all ioyned together ioyfullie, and put the enemie to flyght. The lyke courſe did *Simon* and *Maccabeus*, two notable vvarriors vſe with their Souldiers, vvho being terrified with the view of mightie Armies, and other martiall accidents, by theyr apt perſwaſions, they proued valorous, where before they vvere timorous, and in the end diſcomfited theyr Enemies, as you may reade at large in 1, Macch. 3, and 2, Mach. 8.

The moſt renowned and valianteſt vvarriors amongſt the Heathen, as *Caſar*, *Alexander*, &c, vvould neuer goe into the field without Phyloſophers (who in theyr tymes were deemed the onelie vviſe men) to the end they might

inſtruct and comfort theyr Souldiers. It is none of the leaſt poyntes of martiall diſcipline, to practiſe all poſsible and perſwaſiue meanes, to incourage, comfort, and corroborat the hartes of the Souldiers; for moſt men deſire to ſerue vnder ſuch a Captayne. VVhen the Iewes heard the comfortable vvordes of *Simon*, they were ſo inclined and affected to hym, that they forth-with burſt out of theſe words in a clamorous manner. Thou ſhalt be our Captayne in ſteede of *Iudas*, 1, Mach. 13, 8, and wee reade of *Dauid*, how he did ſo win the harts of hys Souldiers, that the people more affected and famozed hym then *Saul*; and yet *Iudas* and *Saul* vvere two valiant vvarriors. There is nothing more delighteth and draweth lyking in vvarre, then lenitie, and louing perſwaſions, vvhereas raſh and rigorous dealing, doth more hurt in the harts of the Souldiers, then in the hoſt of the Enemie.

2 How to corroborate and comfort our ſelues againſt the Spanyard.

In all warres wee muſt conſider three things. 1 The cauſe, 2 The perſons, 3 The end.

1 The cauſe that moueth the Enemie, whether it be Iuſt, Iniurious.

IVſt warre is that which is taken in hande at the commaundement of the Magiſtrate, for the demaunding of things againe, or to repulſe iniuries, or to reuenge them. *Auguſtine*, and *Iſidorus*, define it much after thys manner. No man doubteth, but that the Magiſtrate is to command: for he beareth not the ſword for nought, therefore *Poſsi-*

donius

donius in the life of *Auguſtine*, ſayth, that he in his writings would neuer commend thoſe, vvhich went to warre in any place, of theyr owne accord, *Poſſ. cap. 27*. The demaunding of things agayne, moued *Abraham* to attempt warre, becauſe the enemies had taken away hys brother, and other mens ſubſtance, Gen. 14, 14. To repulſe iniuries, vvas the chiefe cauſe, that moued all godlie Kings in the Scriptures to vndertake warre, for the defence of their dominions, liues, and religion. The reuenging of iniurie was *Dauids* caſe, whoſe men beeing abuſed by *Hanun*, to whom hee offered kindneſſe, thys iniurie cauſed hym to make vvarre againſt hym, to requite hys inhumanitie, 2, Sam. 10, 7. Now let vs come to applie thys to the Spanyard, we deteine nothing of hys, that he can iuſtly demand, or proffer hym iniurie, that he may rightlie ſeeke reuenge, therefore hys cauſe is not iuſt. Iniurious vvarre is that which is attempted of malyce, as *Saul* dyd againſt *Dauid*, 2, Sam, 18, 9. Or of pryde or ſuch like impious occaſions, it is this that dooth prouoke the Spaniard in ſpyte to come againſt vs; therefore his cauſe is iniurious, for as *Hoſtienſis* ſayth, He doth ill that taketh war in hand of will, and not of neceſsity.

VVhere there is iniury, we must obſerue, whether it be { Offered, Defended.

If it be offered, his offence is grieuous that doth it: for the ſcripture ſaith, woe be to him that giueth the offence.

If it be defended, hee doth not ſin that ſuffereth the iniury; beſides, as D. *Martir* ſayth, a Chriſtian is not forbid but that he may repell violence by violence, *in com. Ro. 12.*

The Spanyard he offereth iniury, wee defend it, hee aſſaulteth vs, we withſtand him, he vrgeth war voluntarily,

we are prouoked of neceſsity; hee ſinneth in offering iniury, and not we in defending it, ſo our mindes incline to peace, though our bodyes are conſtrayned to war, therefore thys is our comfort, if the Spaniard commeth, hys cauſe is not iuſt but iniurious, vvhich may make vs the more bold to buckle with him, and hope to haue the better ſucceſſe, becauſe his violence is voluntary, ours, impulſatory.

2 The perſons that make warre are { Prophane, / Godly. } to be regarded, whether they bee

The Spaniard is a prophane perſon two wayes, { In Life. / In Religion. }

In his life I will note but two things, firſt his pride, ſecondly, his crueltie. His inſolence is well knowne to the world, inſomuch as that report of Moab may be applied to him, which is written in Eſay 15. VVee haue heard of the pryde of Moab, he is very proude: and therefore vnleſſe God be merciful to him, hee may in the ſomtome of hys pryde come to as miſerable an end as Moab. Hys crueltie is intollerable where he doth tyrannize, for he is far worſe then *Nero*. *Nero* for all his cruelty, when hee was to ſubſcribe to a ſentence of death, would wiſh hee could not write, but the Spaniard, he careth no more to ſhed blood then the Butcher, and therefore in his enterprize hee may be fearefull by the example of *Pharaoh*, who carrying ſo murderous a minde, by deſtroying chyldren in the water, that in the warre where he thought to worke his will, he was drowned himſelfe by water; let him take heed, leaſt the Lord doth make him ſhed teares without mercy, as he hath ſhed blood without meaſure.

In religion, the Spaniard is like the Leopard, ful of ſpots;

A ſpottiſh and ſottiſh profeſsion is that which derogateth the glory of God, for the whole action of idolatry, & the ſubſtance of ſuperſtition is common in his Country; ſuch crouching to croſſes in the ſtreets, ſuch adoration of Images in the Churches, ſuch mumbling of Maſſes, Diriges, Trentals, and ſuch like trumperies, which would make a good Chriſtian lament to looke vpon, which they delight to practiſe and depend vpon. Hee is worſe then *Pharaoh*, for he made much of *Ioſeph*, becauſe hee was a good man, but he can neither abide the perſon or profeſsion of a godly man. He is worſe then the Turke, for he wil not refuſe to receiue the Bible, much leſſe perſecute ſuch as preſent it to him; but the Spaniard is ſo great an enemie to God, that he doth impriſon the bodyes, confiſcate the goods, & inflict other puniſhments vpon ſuch as bring but a godlie booke into hys Country; inſomuch as there appeares to be no ſparke of godlines in him: becauſe he reiecteth the meanes that might effect ſome good in him.

Sithence the Spaniard is but a prophane perſon, let vs diſcend to examples for our comfort, and we ſhal ſee from time to time, how the wicked in theyr warres againſt the godly, haue alwayes got repulſe & ouerthrow in the end. That wicked *Pharaoh* which long troubled and tyrannized ouer the good Iſraelites, in his laſt aſſault of warre againſt them, he was ſo far from effecting his furie, that the Lord drowned him & all his hoſt vpon the red Sea. VVell woorthy was hee to be drowned in the water, who had cauſed many chyldren to be caſt into the Riuer, Exo, 1, 22. That blaſphemous *Senacherib*, who diſturbed *Hezekiah* a godly king, in the end the Lorde did puniſh him, not mediatly, but immediatly, by ſending his Angell into his Camp, who ſmote many thouſands of his men; and as for *Senacharib* himſelfe, as hee had dealt vnnaturally againſt

God, ſo he was not long after vnnaturally put to death of his owne chyldren.

That peruerſe generation of the Moabites & Amonits, made warre againſt that vertuous King *Iehoshaphat*, they vvere ſo far from preuailing, that GOD made one enemy to be executioner to another; 2, Chro, 17.

That irreligious Ethiopian which moleſted *Aſa*, that tovvard plant and Prince, at the laſt hee did not onely put the Ethiopian to flight with a fevve, but alſo got him by purſute, and had his will of him. 2, Chro, 14.

Similitude and example, doth much moue ſaith *Cicero*, for vvho cannot be cõforted by ſo godly examples. *Quintilian* ſayth, that hiſtories and exampies be iudgements and teſtimonies; for who cannot beholde the iudgements of GOD by theſe examples? *Auguſtine* ſaith, that examples ought to be as Sermons to vs: for as godly Sermons doe miniſter matter for our edification, and conſolation, ſo doe theſe examples in thys ſort.

Firſt, we may learne from hence, howe the godlie are ſubiect to many ſorrowes, as *Dauid* ſayth: The troubles of the righteous are many, Pſa, 34, 19, for there are euer ſome ambitious and rebellious kinde of people that ſtir vp ſtrife and ſedition againſt them, therefore wee muſt not thinke much though the Spaniard ſet himſelfe againſt vs.

Secondly, we may ſee from hence, although God doth ſuffer the wicked to aſſault and diſturbe the godly, yet hee vvill not ſuffer the enemy to preuaile: therfore this is our comfort, ſo long as wee feare God and liue in ſome meaſure anſwerable to it, the Spaniard may well come, but he ſhall neuer accompliſh his will.

Thirdly, wee may behold by theſe examples, that albeit God doth vſe the wicked as his inſtruments or ſeruaunts, yet he dooth not affect any euill, or fauoureth theyr malitious

tious intents. He affecteth no ill, becauſe in the ende hee afflicteth ſuch as commit it: Prou, 24, 20. He doth not fauour theyr malicious intents, becauſe hee gyueth thē bad ſucceſſe in theyr attempts.

3 The End, which ought to be aymed at in VVar, is not victory but peace: for as Chriſtians would neuer vvar if they might poſſeſſe peace, ſo when they be conſtrayned to warre, they deſire peace; as *Dauid* ſayth of his enemies, I ſeeke peace, and when I ſpeake thereof, they are bent to vvarre, Pſalme, 120, 7. Thys contradicteth Ariſtotle, who concludeth, that as the end of phiſicke is health, ſo the end of vvarre is victory.

But let vs diſcend to the Spaniard, to ſee what end hee aymeth at; he commeth not hether to enrich vs with his Indian treaſure, or to ſupply vs with his Spaniſh warres, or to make amends for his proffered iniuries, or to offer conditions of peace, but the end of his comming is eſpecially, for theſe three cauſes,

1 To attempt VVarre.
2 To inuade the Land.
3 To deſtroy vs.

1 To attempt warre: for it may be ſayd of hym, as of *Aſsbur*, vpon vvhom hath not his malyce paſt continually. Nah. 3, 19. For he warreth and diſquieteth many Nations, as he loueth, ſo he laboureth to ſhed blood: Yet in thys action, he ſhowes a baſe minde, for all he is ſo ambitious a man, vve commonly ſay he is no man that vvill fight with a woman: for if he doth vanquiſh, he can haue no great glory, if he be ouerthrown, he taketh great ſhame; There is a pretie inſtance for thys purpoſe in *Abimelech*, who being about to ſet a Tower on fire, a woman caſt a peece of milſtone vpon his head, and broke hys brayne-pan; *Abimelech* called haſtelie for hys Page, and bad hym drawe his

ſword to ſlay hym, that men might not ſay of hym, a vvoman ſlewe hym, Iudg, 9, 54. If the Spanyard dyd beare the minde of a man, he would neuer moleſt a woman, a Virgine, a Queene, whoſe lyfe and religion is a light to all the world, vvhoſe diſpoſition and dayes requier quiet, but as God brought *Syſera* that wicked perſon to death, by the hand of *Iael* a woman, Iudg. 4, 22, and *Olifernes* to deſtruction, by the hand of *Iudith* a woman, and *Abimelech*, to hys ende, as you haue heard by a woman, ſo his mercy, can make her Maieſtie powerful, by ſome meanes or other, to ſpoyle the Spanyard; hee vvhich hath deliuered her from ſo many ſecret villanies at home, vvill protect her from the open violence of her Enemies abroad.

2 To Inuade the land: hys meaning is not to view it, but to inuade it, he carryeth a reſolute intent to enter, before he knowes the iſſue: for in hys laſt vyage he made hether, he preſumed of a conceited conqueſt, and bewrayed hys ſiniſter pretence, before he was aſſured of his purpoſe. The Iewes dyd not caſt lots for Chriſtes garments, tyll he was crucified, but the Spanyard and hys company did caſt dyce for our lyuings, before they had tryed the euent.

3 To deſtroy vs, thys was one commendation *Cicero* gaue *Caſar*, that when he had vanquiſhed, hee would be mercifull and forget iniuries, *Alexander* that magnanimious minded vvarrior, when he might haue hys will of hys Enemyes, would ſay it ſuffized hym to tryumph, though he dyd not tyrannize. If heathen men were ſo inclyned to mercie, much more ought Chriſtians, the very law of arms affordeth mercy to ſuch as be ſubmiſsiue, but what fauour is to be expected of hym, whoſe affections be not ſeaſoned with the feare of God? The Spaniard pretendeth to England, as *Pharaoh* dyd to *Iſrael*, when he ſayd, I will deuide the ſpoyle, my luſt ſhalbe ſatisfied vpon them, I will drawe

my

my ſword, myne hand ſhall deſtroy them. Exod. 15, 9. God deliuer vs from hys malyce, we may not truſt to hys mercie: for as the ground dyd fare the vvorſe for *Abimelech*, becauſe it was fruitfull, ſo ſhall we by the Spanyard, becauſe of our profeſsion: He made the ground barren by ſowing of ſalte, Iudg. 9, 45, thys, hopes to hynder the growth of the word by ſhedding of blood, the truth is, he would take away our liues, to roote out our religion; but as *Salomon* ſayth: He that deſpiſeth the word, he ſhall be deſtroyed, Pro. 13, 13. So thys is our comfort, God will take our cauſe in hand: for as *Iehoshaphat* ſayd, ſo may we. It is Gods battell and not our, 2, Chro. 20. Hee will not permit ſuch to preuayle, which haue any pretence to impayre hys glorie.

3 The moſt fearefull obiections confuted, which make againſt vs.

There be two things which make vs doubt the vvorſt, { 1 The power of the enimie, 2 Some ſiniſter ciuil practiſe

1 THE power of the Enemie, without queſtion is great, it may be he ſhall haue the ayd of the Indians, the aſiſtance of the Pope, and perhaps the helpe of ſuch as haue greater cauſe to gratifie vs, then be againſt vs. Alas good England, thou art incloſed in a corner of the world, many are thy Enemies, becauſe God is thy friend; thou haſt not many Nations to combyne with thee, yet thys is thy comfort, if thou doſt relie vpon God, he is able to delyuer thee from all. There were fiue Kinges ſet againſt *Abraham*, Gen. 14, and as many againſt *Ioshua*. Ioſh. 10, 16: yet *Abraham* and *Ioshua* got the victorie. Some aledge that the ſpaniſh Nauie is mighty, both

in regard of hys long tyme of preparation, as of hys laſt euerſion, which will make him come the more forceable, for feare of a double foyle. To thys I aunſwere, though hys Nauie were innumerable, and he ſhould arrogate this tytle, as he dyd laſt time, that it is an inuincible Nauie, yet for all his great power and pride, God can deale with him now as hee dyd then, not onelie to diſpierce and ſcatter them in vnknowne Coaſtes, but alſo make the Spanyard lyke *Senacherib*, returne with ſhame to hys owne Land, 2, Chro. 32, 21. Admit hee comes with many millyons of men; yet wee muſt conſider that hee intrudeth into hys Ships all ſortes of people, ſome that came neuer at Sea, others that cannot away with the Sea; now who knowes not that ſuch as be weather-beaten and cannot brooke the Seas, are ſo infeebled, that when they come to the pynch, they had more neede of Phiſitions to looke to them, then furniture to defend them. A more morrall reaſon is thys, be he neuer ſo mightie, it is but an arme of fleſh, they can do no more then men; If God be with vs he can do more then men. If we be penitent for our ſinnes, and depende vpon him, it is not the Nauie or number of men of the Enemie can iniure vs: for as it is written in Leuiticus, vvee ſhall be able with one thouſand men, to chaſe away twentie thouſand, Leuit. 26. VVee haue examples of it for our comfort.

The Madianites, and Amalakites, and many of the Eaſt, of whom it is vvritten, lay in valleis lyke Graſhoppers in multitude, and theyr Cammels were vvithout number, as the Sand is by the Sea-ſide, Iudges 7, 12. All theſe came againſt the Captayne of the Iſralites, who had but three hundred men, and yet he diſcomfited them.

Zerah came with ten hundred thouſand men, and three hundred Charrets, againſt *Aſa*, who had but fiue hundred

foureſcore

foure-ſcore thouſand men, yet he incountred with him & ouer-came them, 2, Chro, 14.

Auguſtine vpon the 13, pſalme *con: 2.* ſayth, Hee is trulie valiant vvho is not ſtrong in himſelfe but in the Lord. Our chiefe valure conſiſteth in God, but the confidence of the wicked in theyr power, Eſay, 31, 1, 2. GOD in iudgment doth puniſh ſuch as ſtande vpon theyr owne ſtrength, but in mercy he protecteth thoſe which haue a truſt in him in theyr troubles.

2 Some ſiniſter ciuill practice. Thys is the common ſaying: if we be true within our ſelues, we neede not care or feare the enemy. Many ſuſpect the Papiſts. The wicked many times will ſuſpect the godly, and therefore it is not amiſſe for Conformoliſts to ſuſpect Recuſants. *Pharaoh* that wicked tyrant, feared and ſuſpected the Iſralits, for (ſayth he,) Come let vs worke wiſely with them, leaſt they multiply, and it come to paſſe that if there be vvarre, they ioyne themſelues alſo vnto our enemies, and fight againſt vs: Exod, 1, 10. Therefore it is good policie where there be ſuſpicious perſons, to preuent the occaſions that may effect theyr ill pretence, by reſtrayning theyr libertie, deteyning theyr armor, not admitting them to any office in Armes, &c.

If two dogs be ſtryuing for a bone, when they ſee the Beare, they will both forſake the bone to flye vppon the Beare: and certes (though the compariſon be ſome-what groſſe) I take it, albeit the Papiſts iarre about matters of Religion, yet when they ſee the Spanyard, they wil ioyne with vs againſt him, if it were but to ſaue theyr liues. *Pilate* and *Herod* were at great ods about priuate matters between them, but when they had to deale with Chriſt, they could then become friends, & conioyne together for hys deſtruction, Luke, 23, 12, then much more ought the Papiſts

piſts for all theyr opinions, reconcile themſelues and ioyne with vs againſt the Spaniard, who deſerueth death more then Chriſt. The dog will fawne of his Maiſter, but barke at ſtrangers, farre worſe were they then dogs, if they doe not affect theyr Prince, and fight againſt her enemies.

In Ieruſalem there were ſome irreligious perſons, as bad as *Nabuchadnezer* himſelfe, yet when hee beſieged it, hee killed and captiuated all ſauing a fewe poore, which were left to looke to the grounds, 2, Reg. 24, euen ſo let the Papiſts thinke, if the worſt ſhould fall (as God defend,) the Spaniard will deale as *Nabuchadnezer* did, he wil not ſpare a Papiſt though he be a Papiſt: (but he will rather ſuppoſe it is done of policie to poſſeſſe life) and therefore in this regard they ſhould arme themſelues againſt the enemie, becauſe they are like to ſpeed no better thē we, if he preuaile.

Themiſtocles had rather die then beare Armes againſt his Country; VVhat more neere to any then his natiue coūtry? For thys cauſe I reade of *Zeno*, who being taken by a Tyrant, and enioyned to tortures, he bit out his tongue & ſpit it in the Tyrants face, for feare the extreamitie of the payne ſhould make him confeſſe any thing againſt his Country. Let theſe Heathen men excite vs to carrie true harts to our Country, for as *Pædanius* ſaith, he that betraies his Country, is worſe then he that beſiegeth it.

Treaſon hath been odious in all ages, { To Man, To God.

To Man it is odious. *Antigonus* the King, woulde alwayes ſay, I loue Traytors ſo long as they are in betraying, but when they haue betrayed I hate thē. *Ierome* to *Pammachius* ſayth: that Princes doe indeed admit treaſon, but they

they condemne the Traytors. *Hier. de optimo genere interpretandi.*

Many betray their country in hope of { Preferment / Reward / Loue } of the Enemie.

Yet commonly they fayle in theyr purpoſe, and receiue in ſteede of preferment reproch, in ſteede of reward, puniſhment, and in ſteed of loue, hatred.

As for preferment, we reade of *Laſthenes*, who when he had betrayed hys Countrie to King *Phillip* of Macedonia, he expected to haue had ſome preferment and dignitie for hys deede, but the common Souldiers in deryſion, called hym euer after by no other name but TRAYTOR: inſomuch as he complayned to King *Phillip* for redreſſe, the King made hym thys aunſwere, the Macedonians are rude and playne people, and knowe not how to call things, but by theyr own proper name, noting heereby that as he had committed treaſon, ſo he iuſtly deſerued no other name but Traytor.

As for Reward, we read of certayne Phaliſcian Scholemen, vvho hoping of reward, went about to betray theyr Countrie to *Camillus:* vvho rewarded them as they deſerued, for hee commaunded that they ſhould be brought home agayne, into theyr owne Countrie, with the ſtrypes of theyr own Schollers, becauſe they would haue betrayed them. *Menelaus* preſumed of ſome reward, vvhen hee ſought to betray his Countrie to *Eupator*, ſo hee had, for he commaunded he ſhould be put to death for his deſert, 2, Mach. 13.

As for Loue, vvee reade of the King of the Thracians, who in hope of fauour, fell from *Anthonie*, to *Auguſtus*, which afterward he boaſted on, in the preſence of *Auguſtus* and others; but *Auguſtus* turned hym to hys friend, and

ſayd, I loue the Treaſon but the Traytor I commend not. *Plutarch*, King *Pyrhus* Phiſition promiſed to the Romayns, that he would for theyr ſakes, worke treaſon agaynſt hys King and Countrie, they were ſo far from fauouring hys ill pretence, that they dyd detect hym to his King, that he might take heede of hym; that example of *Iudas*, may be pretelie heere-vnto applyed, the Iewes made of *Iudas*, whileſt he was a working the Treaſon, but vvhen he had done, they made no force of him; for when he told them, he was touched and diſturbed for the treacherie, vvhat is that to vs (ſay they) ſee thou to it, Math. 27, 4. A Traytor may haue ſome kind intertaynement for the tyme, but he ſhall neuer haue any matter of truſt committed to him, for he that will betray hys natiue Countrie, ſhall liue euer ſuſpected of falſehood in a forrayne Nation.

To GOD. Treaſon is an odious thing to God, and ſo odious, that although it ſhould paſſe vnpuniſhed amongſt men, yet he will purſue a traytor himſelfe with his iudgements, whereof we haue many examples in the ſcriptures. *Abſalom* committed treaſon againſt *Dauid* hys father, and *Zimri* againſt *Elah* hys Maiſter, yet for all that, *Dauid* dyd not puniſh hys Sonne, nor *Elah* hys Seruant, the Lord ſhewed hys iudgments vpon them, for one vvas hanged by hys owne haire, 2, Sam. 28, and the other burnt hymſelfe, 1, King, 16, 18.

Iaſon was a notable Traytor to his Countrie, and raunged lyke a roge or vagobond afterward from Countrie to Countrie, he did eſcape the puniſhment of men, but God ſtill purſued hym, tyll at laſt comming to Lacedemonia, where he had thought to haue had reliefe, he dyed moſt miſerablie, vvanting the laſt office of humanitie, which is buriall, 2, Mach. 5, 7, 8, &c.

There be many, yet I will but note one other worthie exam-

example. *Iehoiakim* betrayed and rebelled againſt *Nabuchadnezzer*, a wicked King, this action ſo much diſpleaſed the Lord, that he rayſed vp many bands of men againſt *Iehoiakim*, to aflict hym for his treacherie, 2, King 24, 1. If the Lord will puniſh ſuch as worke treaſon againſt theyr King, though he be a tyrant, vvhat will hee doo to thoſe that betray a good Prince, which mayntaynes the Goſpell.

Sithence treaſon is ſo odious to God and man, as *Barnherd* ſayth, *Aliorum perditio tua ſit cautio*, let other mens deſtruction be our permonition, and let euery one of vs carrie true harts to our Queene and Countrie; If it be a puniſhment to haue a Tyrant to raigne, and a double puniſhment to haue hym taken away, Hoſea 13, 11, (for better is a Tyrant, then no gouernour, Iudg. 17, 6,) vvhat a bleſſing is it to haue a godlie Prince, as we haue, and a double bleſsing to enioy her dayes as we doe, but how vnſpeakeis our puniſhment, if we looſe her; therefore let vs vnite our heads, harts, and hands, and venture our own liuings and liues for the preſeruation, & defence of ſuch a Prince; Then we may be fully reſolued, (if we haue had vnfeyned repentance for onr ſinnes, and make defenſible preparation for our ſelues, and vſe feruent prayers for our ſucceſſe) that God will ſo bleſſe vs with the meanes, as we ſhall not, neede to feare the iniurious aſſault of that proud *Senacharib* of Spayne. Let *Ahab* call vpon *Baal*; the Turke vpon *Mahumet*, in their troubles, and the Spanyard vpon Idols in hys attempts, we wil pray and depend vpon the God of Iſrael; And if *Symachus* boaſted that in his wars his woodden gods did deliuer him from the *Senons*, *D. Mar. co. Ro.* we may be aſſured that our immortall and liuing God, can and wil deliuer vs from the Spaniard.

Chryſoſtome.

Incepiſſe multorum eſt, ſed perfeciſſe paucorum.

FINIS.